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*On the Importance of Statistics to the Reformatory Movement, with Returns from Female Reformatories, and Remarks on them.* By MARY CARPENTER.

[Based upon a Paper read before Section F.—Economic Science and Statistics—of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Cheltenham, August, 1856; with additions.]

THE position which Reformatory Schools at present hold with regard to the State, renders it of the first importance that as much light as possible should be thrown by statistics on the real numbers of the juvenile criminal population of the country, and that official returns should be henceforth so arranged that accurate information may be obtained as to the actual success or failure of the plans adopted.

The want of such information has led to very serious and alarming apprehensions relative to the inadequacy of any possible supply of reformatories to cope with the enormous multitude of young thieves which is supposed to exist. Reference has been made to criminal returns of convictions, throughout the country, of young persons under the age of 16, and it has been imagined that we must make provision for such an annual supply. Two points have, however, been left out of view: first, that the number of either *commitments* or *convictions* by no means shows the number of criminal individuals, since many have been committed several times during the year; and secondly, that according to the old system of imprisonment for juveniles, the same individual not only would be recommitted two or three times in the same year, but might remain from year to year until transported, not only himself swelling the annual list of convicts, but drawing others into his vortex, and thereby multiplying crime in a fearful ratio; whereas, when the reformatory system is fully carried out, no young person will be allowed to be more than a second time convicted, and frequently all who are likely to be exposed to a second will be removed at the first, and thus each year the list must be greatly lessened numerically. Not only so, but it has been found that a deterring influence has already been exerted in those towns where the Juvenile Offenders' Act has been carried into active operation. At the late meeting in Bristol of the National Reformatory Union, an important communication was made by the chief constable of Berwick, that there had been considerable diminution in juvenile crime since the Juvenile Offenders' Act came into operation; and it was stated by the chaplain of the Liverpool Gaol, "that since the Liverpool magistrates began to act with their present determination of availing themselves of the Youthful Offenders' Act in all its provisions, both for the protection of the child and for enforcing the parental responsibility in every suitable case, a manifest anxiety amongst the criminal population had been created, and that the number of juveniles in the gaol, of which he had been for some years chaplain, is less than during any period within his recollection."

An analysis of one of the tables in the Liverpool Police Report for 1855 will present an important illustration of the points on which there should be careful entries in all such returns, and of the

erroneous impressions which may arise from a want of such well arranged tables.

We learn from this table, that in the year 1855 there were 1140 apprehensions of boys and 304 of girls, altogether 1344 apprehensions of juveniles under the age of 16. But of these, 372, in the case of boys, and 75, in the case of girls, were repetitions of previous apprehensions, making the actual number of individual boys apprehended only 768, and of girls 229. Again, of these, 290 boys and 85 girls had been apprehended in previous years, and these 290 boys had had among them 259 re-apprehensions, the 85 girls, 39 re-apprehensions. Now when the Youthful Offenders' Act has come into full operation, the old offenders will all be removed, and, consequently, instead of the enormous amount of 1140 apprehensions of boys and 304 of girls, we shall have, on the same average, only 478 of boys and 144 of girls, somewhat more than one-third.

A similar process applied to a table of *commitments*, during the same year, presents even more striking results. We here find 489 commitments of boys and 110 of girls; but after making the same reductions as before, 95 represents the number of boys now committed who were not known to have been so before, and 37 the number of girls. In the case of the commitments, a very large proportion is of individuals who are known to have been previously in custody, viz. 377 of the boys and 70 of the girls. If all these old offenders had been removed, it cannot be doubted that the number of new commitments would have been very greatly diminished; but even as the case now stands, the number of known delinquents is not so great but that it may be well grappled with, viz., 132 of both sexes, for the town of Liverpool, which, from its position and circumstances, may be expected to be more prolific of juvenile vice than any place out of the metropolis. There cannot be a doubt that a still greater reduction will take place when reformatories have been longer in operation. Such a result is strongly evidenced by the following extract from the Liverpool Police Report for 1856, just issued:—

Since the reformatories have been in operation, a diminution in juvenile crime has taken place in this borough; for it is known to the police that some parents who formerly sent out their children for the purpose of committing felonies, upon the proceeds of which they subsisted, are now aware that should their children be detected in crime, they would be taken from them, sent to a reformatory, and they themselves charged a weekly sum, varying according to their circumstances, for their maintenance; *greater care is taken by such parents of their children, as it is now their interest to prevent what was formerly encouraged by them.*

The returns show a very considerable diminution in the number of juveniles taken into custody.

It is of great importance to the reformatory movement that such tables as these, with the addition of tables of convictions and sentences of all young persons under 16 (not 17 as heretofore), should be kept universally throughout the country, and that further means should be taken, as in France, to record all cases of relapse in young persons who have been in reformatories, including the Government Reformatory, at Parkhurst, Isle of Wight. There will thus be the means afforded of ascertaining to some extent the wants of the country in the establishment of reformatories; the degree in which the intentions of the government are carried out in the substitution of

reformatories for prisons, in the case of young persons under 16; and the effect of the mode of management adopted in each establishment.

The managers of reformatories must also carefully perform their part in keeping careful and regular records on all points which will be likely to throw light on the subject, and must be particularly exact in all matters concerning the disposal of the children, and their subsequent course.

At the commencement of the movement the reformation of boys only was the object of much attention; but it is now beginning to be understood that there exists in the country a large number of girls, marked with the prison brand, whose condition is far worse than that of boys, and who, if left unreformed, will be the teachers of vice to the next generation. A commencement has been recently made of schools for these, as will be shewn by the following table, from which some important facts may be elicited:—

*Returns of Girls sent to Reformatories certified under the Act 17 and 18 Vict., c. 86, from December 1st, 1854, to October 31st, 1856.\**

	Red Lodge.	Camden Street.	Arno's Court.	Toxteth Park.	Allerley Farm.	Chelsea.	Total.
<i>Number of Girls—</i>							
Who have been received into the school .....	61	18	26	25	5	....	135
Now in the school .....	44	16	26	19	5	45	155
That can be received at once in each school .....	50	20	100	30	8	46	254
Not under sentence, but volunteers .....	15	....	....	17	1	44	77
Who have left the school .....	17	2	....	6	....	....	25
<i>Girls who have left, how disposed of.</i>							
Sent to service and doing well .....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....
„ „ uncertain .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
„ „ ill .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Emigrated to America under good escort .....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....
Employed as assistant in the school ..	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Sent home greatly improved .....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....
„ „ and since doing well .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Removed by parents .....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....
Sent to another school ..	1	1	....	....	....	....	....
Sent to workhouse .....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....
Dismissed as incorrigible in the school ..	1	1	....	2	....	....	....
Absconded .....	1	1	....	2	....	....	....
	17	2	....	6	....	....	....

\* The following are the dates of the certificates:—Red Lodge, Park Row, Bristol, 1854; Camden Street, Birmingham, 1854; Arno's Court, near Bristol, 1856; Toxteth Park, Liverpool, 1856. This reformatory was commenced two years ago, but has not been in full operation until the commencement of the present year, to which the returns refer, and it has been certified only recently. Allerley Farm, Warwickshire, 1856; School of Discipline, Chelsea, 1856. The School of Discipline, Chelsea, was founded in 1825 for the reformation of girls who have been imprisoned for theft or other offences, though many are admitted who have rendered themselves liable to such punishment without having actually suffered it. Since its commencement 479 children have been here educated, of whom 143 have become domestic servants, and 210 have returned to their parents or guardians. This school having been certified as a Reformatory only in the month of June last, and received as yet but one scholar under the provisions of the Act, returns from it cannot be given in this table.

Other Girls' Reformatories are in process of establishment.

*Returns of Girls sent to Reformatories certified under the Act 17 and 18 Vict., c. 86, from December 1st, 1854, to October 31st, 1856.—Continued.*

<i>Places from whence received.</i>	Red Lodge.	Camden Street.	Arno's Court.	Toxteth Park.	Allerley Farm.	Chelsea.	Total.
Abergavenny .....	1	....	....	....	†	....	1
Bath .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Berwick-on-Tweed .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Birmingham .....	2	7	1	....	....	....	10
Bridgewater .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Bristol .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Brighton .....	3	....	....	....	....	....	3
Carnarvon .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Chester .....	1	1	1	....	....	....	3
Devon county .....	6	....	....	....	....	....	6
Gloucester county .....	8	....	....	....	....	....	8
„ city .....	2	....	....	....	1	....	3
Hanmer .....	....	1	....	....	....	....	1
Hereford .....	3	....	....	....	....	....	3
Hull .....	1	....	1	....	....	....	2
Lancaster .....	2	1	....	....	....	....	3
Leicester .....	2	1	....	....	....	....	3
Liverpool .....	16	3	23	25	....	....	67
Leeds .....	2	....	....	....	....	....	2
Malvern .....	....	1	....	....	....	....	1
Manchester .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Merthyr .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Monmouth .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Northampton .....	1	1	....	....	2	....	4
Taunton .....	1	1	....	....	....	....	2
Westminster .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Worcester .....	....	1	....	....	1	....	2
Yarmouth (Great) .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
<i>Age on coming to the School.</i>					†		
Under 12 .....	24	5	6	....	1	....	36
Between 12 and 14 .....	25	11	11	3	1	....	51
Between 14 and 16 .....	12	2	9	19	2	....	44
Above 16 .....	....	....	....	3	....	....	3
<i>Education.</i>					†		
Read with intelligence, and write a little .....	12	10	1	13	....	....	36
Read indifferently .....	20	5	3	2	2	....	32
No education .....	29	3	22	10	2	....	66
<i>Crimes.</i>					†		
Arson .....	3	1	....	....	....	....	4
Horse stealing .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1
Picking pockets .....	5	3	....	....	....	....	8
Obtaining goods on false pretences .....	4	....	....	....	....	....	4
Felony .....	39	10	25	17	4	....	95
Petty theft and vagrancy .....	9	4	1	....	....	....	14
Admitted to save them from bad homes .....	....	....	....	8	....	....	8
<i>Parents.</i>			*				
Both living .....	33	5	6	4	1	....	49
Both dead .....	4	3	2	4	1	....	14
Father only { Step-parents in about .....	12	6	9	9	1	....	37
Mother only { half the cases .....	11	4	6	8	2	....	31
Illegitimate .....	1	....	....	....	....	....	1

\* 3 not classed.

† These returns are of the convicted girls only.

Several striking facts may be elicited from the foregoing table:—

First.—While the schools are capable of containing 254 girls, we find only 155 actually in them, and of these one-half are volunteers. Knowing then that a very large number of young girls are annually convicted of crimes, it follows that during the two years the schools have been in operation, magistrates and judges have not availed themselves of the provisions of the Act as fully as they might have done.

Secondly.—The list of the places, from which girls have been sent to the schools, shows that, while an interest in the movement is extending into even remote parts of the kingdom, the large towns, which are the great centres of juvenile delinquency, have shown a remarkable backwardness in sentencing girls to reformatories, and thus bringing these institutions to bear on their criminal population. Liverpool is the only town which has done this, and we have already recorded the testimony of the chaplain as to the results. The magistrates of Manchester and Bristol have never sentenced a single girl to a reformatory (the two sent from these towns to Red Lodge were volunteers), though the former had so good an example near, and the latter has two large reformatories within its own precincts.

Thirdly.—The bulk of the children in these reformatories are under 14 years of age. Several of the schools, and among them that at Chelsea, decline receiving children above that age, conceiving justly that it is very undesirable, for many reasons, that older and younger girls should be in the same establishment. Separate schools are much required for older girls, whose condition greatly needs the saving help of a Christian hand.

Fourthly.—The educational condition of the delinquent class, in a large town like Liverpool, is much lower than the general average throughout the country. While about half of the whole number of the delinquents had a slight knowledge, at least, of reading, only three or four of the 67 Liverpool girls had any education beside what they had acquired in the gaol.

Fifthly.—Orphanage is not the cause of crime among these children, little more than one-tenth of them having lost both parents. Nearly one-half, however, have lost one parent, and a large proportion of these have a step-father or mother. In almost all cases which have been investigated, the delinquency of the child is directly traceable to the bad character of the parents, or, if the surviving parent is respectable, to the unkind treatment of a step-mother.

These few remarks will show how rich a mine of instruction, as to the causes of juvenile crime and the condition of the children, may be worked by an examination of the histories of those who fill the reformatory schools. The best mode of conducting them will require all the light which can be thrown on this hitherto neglected work, and this paper will be concluded with a few observations founded on the experience of the last four years.

There are of course some general rules equally applicable to schools for boys and for girls; in both it is evident that the instilling of moral and religious principles is of fundamental importance; that the Scriptures should be made the basis of religious instruction; and that no religious teaching will be availing unless religion is made a

*living principle* in the hearts both of teacher and children. All will consider industrial training of great importance in these schools, especially such kinds of it as will best develop and train the faculties of the children, and fit them for future life. All will endeavour to give in the school the sound elements of common knowledge; and will make such arrangements for food, clothing, and sanitary operations, as, while offering no undue attraction or indulgence to the child, are most conducive to health and moral training.

But a school for boys is necessarily different in many respects from one for girls. They are to be fitted for independent, active life; and when the tone of the institution is once established, "*la clef des champs*," as De Metz calls it, should be the only one employed. But girls are to be fitted for *home*; and while the same preparation for an independent life is not required for them, a far greater degree of neatness, order, and propriety of demeanour is desirable.

We must not forget the painful fact, that girls of the *criminal class* are far more degraded, dangerous to society, and difficult to control, than boys; this is well known to those whose experience has enabled them to compare the two sexes. The proofs and causes of this state of things cannot be here entered on; the fact is in part referable to the greater natural delicacy and susceptibility of the nature of girls, which renders them open to a deeper impress both of good and evil. They have also been more directly exposed to the evil influences of bad homes, and the affections, which are very strong in these girls, are therefore in close sympathy with vice. Their desire for excitement of every kind is strong, as also for the gratification of the senses. They are generally devoid of any good principles of conduct, particularly addicted to deceit, both in words and actions, of fine but misdirected powers, of violent passions, extremely sensitive to imagined injury, and equally sensitive to kindness.

In the reformation of these children, the following have been proved to be important principles of management:—

1st. The physical condition of these girls will generally be found very unsatisfactory; and it is well known that the moral state is much influenced by the physical. All sanitary regulations for ventilation, regular and sufficient personal ablutions, suitable temperature, &c., should be strictly attended to. The advantage of agricultural labour not being procurable, walks beyond the premises, as well as out-door play, should be regularly taken by the girls, and as much bodily exercise as possible should be devised for them in their daily industrial work, as an exercise of their physical energies. The food should be sufficient, and of a more nourishing description than is allowed in most pauper schools. On this point considerable stress has been laid by medical men of high scientific experience. These children have been accustomed to a stimulating life, to feasting and fasting, and to various exciting aliments. Unless the system is properly sustained under the change, it will sink.

2nd. The young girl is to be placed, as far as possible, in the same kind of position as children in a well-ordered family in the working classes. She has been accustomed to be independent of authority, and to do only what is right in her *own* eyes. She must now feel under steady, regular restraint, administered with a firm,

equal, but loving hand. Her irregular impulses must be curbed. She must insensibly, but steadily, be made to feel that it is necessary for her to submit to the will of *others*, and especially to be obedient to duty. The regular training of the schoolroom will greatly contribute to this, and all those nameless arrangements and manœuvres to preserve order and discipline, which are found so valuable in good British and National Schools.

3rd. Children in this class have hitherto felt themselves in a state of antagonism with society, and totally unconnected with the virtuous portion of it. The matrons, chaplains, and even governors of the gaols they came from, have usually been the only persons whom these children had been even able to call their friends, and they are often most gratefully remembered by them. They must, as far as possible, be brought to feel themselves a part of society, regarded by it with no unkind feeling, but rather, having been outcasts, welcomed into it with Christian love, and entering into it as far as their own conduct renders this possible. Nothing in their dress or appearance should mark them out as a separate caste; as far as it is found safe and expedient, they should be enabled to associate with others; and, under judicious restrictions, persons of virtuous character and loving spirit should be encouraged to visit the school, and have intercourse with the pupils.

4th. The affections must be cultivated as much as possible in a healthy direction. The love of their families must not be repressed, and the natural ties must be cherished as far as can be done without evil influence being exerted over them. The school must be made a home, and a happy one; but the children must be led to feel that the possibility of this depends on their own forbearance and kindness towards each other. Mutual dependence must be cultivated; and as in actual society, they must be made to feel that all must often suffer through the misconduct of one, while the good conduct of every individual is a benefit to the whole number—to the school in general. They will then learn to feel it a duty and a pleasure to help each other in difficulty, and to be watchful over each other's conduct, from no censorious feeling, but from a simple regard to each other's benefit, and to do what is right.

5th. The activity and love of amusement natural to childhood should be cultivated in an innocent and healthy manner. These cannot be repressed without great moral injury; but they may be turned to good account, and made the medium of conveying most valuable lessons on the rights of others and the nature of property, or even of imparting useful knowledge. The children should be allowed to possess little toys and articles treasured by childhood, which they may be permitted to purchase with earnings awarded them for work done. The valuable exhibitions now open to ordinary schools may be allowed to them occasionally, especially as a reward for good conduct. The Dioramas and Zoological Gardens may improve their minds, and give a stimulus to the advancement of knowledge more than any other lessons.

6th. All rewards and punishments should be, as much as possible, the natural consequences of actions. Deceit or dishonesty will occasion an amount of distrust and watchfulness, which a judicious



teacher may render a very severe punishment to a child. The employment of bad language, and the indulgence of a quarrelsome disposition, will require separation from the society of others as a necessary consequence. All punishments should be administered with the greatest caution and impartiality, and should be evidently promoted by a desire to do good to the offender; the sympathy of the school, and even of the culprit, will thus be enlisted with the teacher. There should be no bribery to do right, nor deterring by fear only from doing wrong; a desire of improvement and love of duty should be cherished *for themselves*. Hence, *artificial* stimulants to good conduct, especially such as excite a desire to *excel others*, should be avoided in these schools; they foster many bad passions. The children should rather be stimulated to surpass *themselves*; this will be greatly aided by a regular and impartial record of conduct, which should be frequently reviewed.

7th. As much freedom should be given as is compatible with the good order of the establishment. Those who prove themselves deserving of confidence may have situations of trust assigned them, and may be sent on errands beyond the premises. *It is only in proportion as there is liberty, that security can be felt in the child's real improvement.*

8th. The intellectual powers should be steadily *trained*, though not superficially excited. It is only by giving the mind wholesome nourishment, that it can be prevented from preying on garbage. Many are chary of intellectual instruction in these schools, as if they were doing a wrong to the working classes by imparting knowledge to these outcasts. On the contrary, we are conferring a boon on them, by reforming in the best way we can, those who, if neglected, may do them an irreparable moral injury.

9th. After the preceding remarks, it is hardly necessary to say that every effort must be made to infuse a good moral tone into the school. It will certainly exist if the preceding principles are well carried out. When a new comer or a badly disposed child finds the feeling of the school in harmony with obedience, order, and duty, and that public opinion, *which is strongest when it proceeds from equals*, is in opposition to everything wrong, the work of the teacher will be incalculably lightened.

10th. The *will* of each individual child must be enlisted in her own reformation, and she must be made to feel that without this, the efforts of her teachers will be useless. Such confidence must be awakened in the minds of the children towards their teachers as to lead them *willingly* to submit to all the regulations for order, neatness, and regularity, which are an important part of their training, and to yield themselves implicitly to their guidance. From this the child must be taught to *feel* obedience to the Divine Will to be the highest happiness, and to *desire* to obey that will.

Did time permit illustration of these principles, they might be made clearer; they are the result of close observation, and have been proved to be true.

May many labourers be raised up who will endeavour to rescue these lost ones—to save a soul from death, and thus cover a multitude of sins.

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